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ABSTRACT

This research report summarizes data on six new immigrant groups, Colombians, Italians, Greeks, Koreans, Asian Indians, and Israelis, living in the Borough of Queens in New York City. The research format consisted of a comprehensive interview administered to 116 households. Data on occupation, education, income, household composition, socioeconomic status, class self-perception, involvement in community and ethnic organizations, and attitudes toward community are presented. The trend data indicate that this group of immigrants is drawn from urban, occupationally middle-class, and well educated backgrounds in the country of origin and that their self-perceptions, attitudes and certain behavioral patterns indicate middle class status in the United States. Data also indicate that while immigrants see themselves as members of the middle class, ethnicity is an important element in their lives. Several areas are suggested for further research: the relationship between ethnic identity and discrimination, conflict, and self isolation. (Author/CMG)

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The Jewish and Ethnic Studies Project

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SIX IMMIGRANT GROUPS IN QUEENS: A PILOT STUDY

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Abstract

SIX IMMIGRANT GROUPS IN QUEENS: A PILOT STUDY

by

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This research report summarizes data on six new immigrant groups--Colombians, Italians, Greeks, Koreans, Asian Indians and Israelis--living in the Borough of Queens, New York City. The research format consisted of a comprehensive interview administered to 116 households. Data on occupation, education, income, household composition, socioeconomic status, class self-perception, involvement in community and ethnic organizations, and attitudes toward community is presented. The trend data indicates that this group of immigrants (1) is drawn from urban, occupationally middle-class and well educated backgrounds in the country of origin and that their self-perceptions, attidues and certain behavorial patterns indicate middle class status in the United States. (2) That while immigrants see themselves as members of the middle class, ethnicity is an important element in their lives. Several areas are suggested for further research: the relationship between ethnic identity and discrimination, conflict and self isolation.

The Ethnic Studies Research Project owes its existence to the problems that shifts in the ethnic composition of the Queens population during the past 15 years have created for the college. At the onset it should be made clear that the college is not an ivory tower institution, isolated from the surrounding community, but an authentic public institution with a long tradition of serving the educational needs of the diverse communities within the Borough. The student body itself is heavily drawn from the Borough. Thus the problems of the college reflect those of the community in which it is enclaved. Ethnic tensions have surfaced--often in ugly forms (e.g., anti-semitism, racism and many forms of ethnic and class prejudice). Such tensions threaten the social fabric of the Borough and are clearly destructive to the mission of the college to educate young people, regardless of race, color or creed, for professional life in the city.

In this context, the Ethnic Studies Research Project was conceived as one means by which the university could make a contribution to ameliorating an already difficult situation. We believe that part of the problem of racial and ethnic tensions is ignorance, ignorance born of lack of knowledge of the traditions and special needs of diverse cultural backgrounds and the failure to comprehend the plight of new immigrants. We feel that ignorance leads to lack of respect, and hostility, thus setting the stage for conflict. The research project is a recognition of the College's obligation to use its academic and administrative resources to collect and dispense information on the real situation of various ethnic groups and immigrant populations in Queens, to foster understanding between groups that make up the Borough and our student body and to serve as a forum to disseminate this information.

Research Design

The research project was a study of six immigrant groups--Colombians, Italians, Greeks, Koreans, Asian Indians and Israelis. These were chosen from among the myriad of ethnic groups in Queens primarily because their largest locus of population in the City is in the Borough. During the first year of the project, our research effort has been devoted to the designing of a comprehensive interview (English version appended), and to administering this interview to a sample of 116 households from the six groups selected for study. This survey has the strengths and limitations of any pilot study, which can be summarized as follows: (A) It was designed to isolate research problems that were largely unkown and undefined prior to conducting the survey. The migration into Queens that we are studying has been very recent and massive. We had little previous research upon which to base our survey. We therefore felt compelled to cast our research net very wide, in order to let the problems faced by ethnic groups emerge from the interview data. In short, we were obliged to sacrifice some research efficiency in order not to define research and social problems on a priori basis. (B) Each interview is extensive and therefore time consuming to administer. In practical terms, this means that we chose to emphasize quality of information over statistical representativeness. The results of the survey indicate areas for further research, based on trends emerging from the preliminary data, rather than definitive statistical data on highly specific problems.

The interview form was designed to elicit information on sociocultural background, status and class position, patterns of community life, ethnic identity and problems of discrimination. The sample was stratisfied only by country of origin; subsample size ranged from a high of 23 households for the

Colombians and Greeks to a low of 14 for the Israelis. Interviewees for the study were provided by community organizations; all interviews were conducted in the native language by Queens College students. Problems in securing respondents were encountered only among the Korean and Israeli communities. Both groups were somewhat suspicious of research sponsored by a public institution; non-response rates to all questions were highest for these two groups. The reluctance among Israelis to participate in a study concerned with immigration was compounded by the fact that few admit to being permanent immigrants to the United States. Personal networks had to be used to augment the names provided by community groups and even then it was difficult to obtain a minimum number of subjects.

This sample is clearly non-random with respect to representativeness of each ethnic group, if groups are defined in terms of simple demographic aggregates. However, the sample is selected from the active members of each group, as defined by either formal membership in community groups, or by participation in the informal networks generated by such groups or both. In selecting these individuals for study, we are tacitly assuming that they are much more likely to influence the future course of ethnic relationships in the Borough than will non-active community members. This is in accordance with the standard assumption in political theory that a minority of any given group is critical in determining transformations in the political field, rather than the group as a whole. While we cannot at this point establish even the representativeness of the sample among active members--this remains a task for future research--we can at this point suggest that the responses in the survey may be a more accurate reflection of the social problems facing these groups than would be the case with a purely random sample. Moreover, The Demographic Profile of Ethnic Groups in Queens County (see Part II), also funded under the

Ethnic Studies Project and conducted under the supervision of Dr. Stever Cohen of the Sociology Department does provide a baseline of comparative demographic data. Reference will be made to this study at appropriate points in the text.

In addition to the survey, information on the selected ethnic groups was gathered in two ways: (1) A directory of ethnic organizations in the Borough was compiled; and (2) Approximately 30 open-ended interviews were conducted with members of the ethnic community. The ethnic directory is both a resource for the various communities--I have received numerous requests for copies--and a research tool. The role ethnic organizations play in the community, their size, characteristics of members and locations in the Borough helps paint a picture of the social and political organization of ethnic communities. Respondents for the open-ended interviews were selected for their ethnic affiliation, either organizational or personal, their contact with other community members and their availability and interest in the project. They were asked to give their impressions of the social and cultural characteristics, and problems of the immigrant groups, as well as accounts of their personal experiences.

Summary of Findings

Clearly the Borough of Queens has experienced a new wave of immigration during the past fifteen years the magnitude of which is difficult to determine. Although the 1980 census will provide some measure of the size of these new populations, this is not the only factor in determining the impact immigrants have on an area. Equally important are the characteristics of the in-coming groups, their backgrounds, resources, and expectations, all of which figure prominently in their adjustment to a new community. For many the word "immigrant" evokes images of illiterate peasants jammed into urban ghettos in turn

of the century garb, an image both anomalous and disquieting for a borough that has earned itself a reputation as solidly middle class and residential. The sample population studied suggests that our images may need to be redefined. Generally, respondents were found to have come from urban, occupationally middle class and well-educated backgrounds. More than 70 percent of all respondents originated in urban centers although the Italian, Greek and Israeli subsamples deviated somewhat from this pattern with 35 and 45 percent coming from small towns (Greek and Italian) and 29 percent from rural areas (Israeli). The occupations of the majority of respondents were either professionals, technocrats, white-collar workers or students in their native country (See Figure 1). Among Asian Indians, Colombians, Israelis and Koreans these categories accounted for 83, 74, 71 and 56 percent of the sample respectively but among Italians and Greeks they made up only 30 and 43 percent. The level of educational achievement at the time of entry to the United States was generally high. More than 60 percent of the total sample had attended some post-secondary educational institution (See Figure 2). Among Asian Indians, Colombians and Koreans not only were the percentages with at least some post-secondary education higher than for the total sample--94, 74 and 72 percent—but they were also significant number of persons with university and professional degrees. The Greek and Israeli average clustered around the group average of 60 percent but the Italian subsample average was considerably lower, only 20 percent.

It is possible that the high education levels reflect a peculiar sampling bias, that is, that the community groups who supplied the names of volunteers may have consciously or unconsciously selected their better-educated members. It is equally possible, however, that the middle class background of respondents

is a real feature of the immigrant influx at certain points in time over the last fifteen years. More than 75 percent of the total sample entered the U.S. after 1965, that is, after changes in the U.S. immigration law that promoted the entry of skilled manpower. Although respondents were not asked about the type of visas they entered the U.S. under--such questions were judged too sensitive--they were evaluated on the strength of their ties to persons and/or institutions in the United States before they entered the country. The range of possible scores was from 0 to 8, scaled from weakest to strongest ties. Generally, scores fell on the lower half of the scale, indicating weak ties (See Figure 3). However, among Italians, Greeks and Israelis scores clustered on the high end of the scale, indicating stronger ties. The logic of this pattern is as follows. Ethnic groups already established in the United States--namely the Italians, Greeks and possibly Israeli through kin ties to American Jews--sponsored the admission of relatives while the Asian Indians, Colombians and Koreans--groups without a base ethnic population--entered the U.S. under the educationally and professionally selective immigration laws. The jobs held by the Italians and Greeks in the native country were different from professional/white-collar/student pattern of the other groups. Blue-collar workers made up 26 percent of the Greek sample; Italian housewives and entrepreneurs accounted for 25 and 20 percent respectively (See Figure 1). This suggests that Italian and Greek immigrants were drawn from groups relatively low on the socioeconomic hierarchy of their native countries and were ineligible for admission except as relatives of U.S. citizens.

The contrast between the Italian/Greek pattern and that of the other group may suggest something about the background of the newest arrivals to the Borough. Many who entered the United States between 1965 and the early 1970's

Figure 1

Occupation in Home Country (H.C)/Occupation in United States (U.S.)

Group	Prof - Tech		White-Collar		Student		Blue-Collar		Entrep.		Housewife		Other		N/R	
	H.C.	U.S.	H.C.	U.S.	H.C.	U.S.	H.C.	U.S.	H.C.	U.S.	H.C.	U.S.	H.C.	U.S.	H.C.	U.S.
Colombian (N=23) 100%	30%	39%	22%	26%	22%	0%	0%	17%	9%	4%	4%	9%	13%	5%	0%	0%
Italian (N=20) 100%	0	5	5	15	25	0	5	30	20	15	25	25	20	10	10	0
Greek (N=23) 100%	0	17	22	13	22	4	26	27	4	26	9	13	9	0	8	0
Korean (N=18) 100%	39	33	11	28	6	0	0	22	17	0	1	17	6	0	10	0
Asian Indian (N=18) 100%	72	67	6	22	6	0	0	0	0	6	6	5	10	0	0	0
Israeli (N=14) 100%	7	22	50	36	15	14	7	0	7	29	0	0	14	0	0	0
TOTAL (N=116) 100%	24	30	18	22	16	3	7	17	10	13	10	12	12	3	3	0

Combined Prof-Tech., White-Collar Students in Home Country From all Groups 58%

Figure 2

Educational Level at Time of Entry to United States

	H.S. or less	Post Secondary Education					TOTAL Post-Sec
		Minimally H.S.+	Assoc-Tech Degree	University B.A.	Prof- M.A. or equiv	Prof- PhD or equiv	
Colombian (N=23) 100%	26%	48%	4%	9%	0%	13%	74%
Italian (N=20) 100%	80	20	0	0	0	0	20
Greek (N=23) 100%	39	52	9	0	0	0	61
Korean (N=18) 100%	28	17	6	44	0	5	72
Asian Indian (N=18) 100%	6	28	5	17	39	5	94
Israeli (N=14) 100%	43	43	0	14	0	0	57
TOTAL (N=116) 100%	37	35	4	13	6	4	63

12

13

question is not possible with the information at hand, but it is clear that most respondents perceived immigration as a way to improve their general socio-economic position which included educational goals. Realizing aspirations for more education was a significant trait for all groups in the sample. Figure 4 gives a breakdown of where the sample attended post-secondary educational institutions and shows that more than 40 percent earned their highest degrees in the U.S. Significantly, the sample generally shows higher average education levels than those surveyed in the Demographic Profile of Ethnic Groups (See Figure 5).

Figure 4

Where Respondents Received Highest Education Degree

	Home Country	United States	Elsewhere
Colombian (N=17) 100%	53%	41%	6%
Italian (N=4) 100%	0	100	0
Greek (N=14) 100%	43	57	0
Korean (N=13) 100%	77	23	0
Asian Indian (N=17) 100%	59	23	18
Israeli (N=8) 100%	37	63	0
TOTAL (N=73) 100%	52	43	5

Figure 3

Ties to Persons/Institutions Before Entering to United States

	Weak 0-4	Strong 5-8
Colombian (N=23) 100%	83%	17%
Italian (N=23) 100%	55	45
Greek (N=23) 100%	48	52
Korean (N=18) 100%	89	11
Asian Indian (N=18) 100%	89	11
Israeli (N=14) 100%	64	36
TOTAL (N=116) 100%	71	29

have undoubtedly acquired U.S. citizenship, or will do so shortly, and now can sponsor their kinsmen. A commonly held view among respondents to the open-ended interviews is that the newest immigrants are drawn from the families of older immigrants and as a rule are significantly poorer, less well educated and less well equipped than their compatriots to cope with the problems of immigration.

If, as the data suggests, this group of immigrants was relatively well-off in their native country, then legitimate questions can be raised as to their reasons for immigrating to the United States. A systematic answer to this

Figure 5

Average Educational Level (In Years)

	Sample Population (N=116)	Demographic Profile of Ethnic Groups (N=1,646)
Colombian (N=23)	14.2 years	11.3 years
Italian (N=20)	9.7	12.2
Greek (N=23)	12.6	11.9
Korean (N=18)	15.2	14.6 (includes all Oriental groups)
Asian Indian (N=18)	17.4	14.6 (includes all Oriental groups)
Israeli (N=14)	12.3	14.1 (includes all Jewish groups)

The evaluation of social mobility patterns is a complex process involving comparative evaluations of culturally defined status hierarchies, and class position as well as patterns of participation in the labor market. However, the data suggests that these immigrants have experienced neither marked upward nor downward mobility but rather have managed to insert themselves in a niche in the socioeconomic hierarchy similar to the one they occupied in their native country. A comparison of the occupations in the native country with those held at the time of the survey shows few major differences. (See Figure 1.) The percentage of responders included in the student and "other" category has, of course, shown a decline, but the percentages in the professional white-collar category has changed little. In general, the percentage in business was constant although among Greeks and Israelis entrepreneurship is now more significant than in the native country. My impression is that the absence of

entrepreneurs in the Korean sample inaccurately depicts this group's occupational spread and may be due to some peculiar but unknown sampling bias. Among Colombians several businessmen were excluded from the sample because their residences were in Long Island though their shops are located in Queens. The increase in the percentage of blue collar workers could either reflect the previously discussed differences in background for the more recent migrants or it could imply some form of downward mobility. The data is inconclusive.

Although most respondents have been able to find jobs commensurate with their skills and qualifications, appropriate employment is not the only factor, however critical, in determining the ease or difficulty with which immigrants adjust to a new life. Several features of the data suggests that their successes may be less than what appears at first glance. Businesses were small shops which use only family labor or employ less than five persons. Most of the sample was salaried; even among professionals self-employment was rare. Both white and blue-collar workers were generally in non-supervisory positions; among professionals supervisory responsibilities were not extensive. These characteristics suggests that most respondents held either low/entry level positions or, at best, middle range posts in their respective occupational hierarchies. The age of the sample suggests that this should not be the case: most were thirty-five or older.

Household income figures corrobrate the view that these immigrants occupy relatively low positions on the occupational hierarchy given their status characteristics. Figure 6 provides average income figures for the sample in comparison to average incomes shown by the groups surveyed in the Demographic Profile Study. All groups, except the Asian Indians, had lower average incomes. Undoubtedly the average figure for each group in the sample would have been

higher, and therefore closer to the averages shown by groups included in the Demographic Profile if households earning $40,000+ had been included in income computations. However, household income for all groups in the sample was frequently based on two salaries. Two wage earner households made up 45 percent of the total sample and ran as high as 72 percent among Asian Indians. (See Figure 7.)

Figure 6

	Household Income Immigrant Sample				Demographic Profile of Ethnic Groups	
	Average Income		Excluded		Average Income	
		%	$40,000+ %	N/R* %		
Colombian (N=23)	$19,079	83%	9%	8%	$19,700	Colombian
Italian (N=20)	$16,618	85	0	15	$21,800	Italian
Greek (N=23)	$16,674	83	17	0	$22,600	Greek
Korean (N=18)	$17,188	89	6	5	$22,700	Oriental
Asian Indian (N=18)	$28,750	44	56	0	$22,700	Oriental
Israeli (N=14)	$17,500	71	14	14	$25,300	Jewish

*No response

Figure 7

Household Wage Earner Patterns

	1 Wage Earner	2 Wage Earners	Other
Colombian (N=23) 100%	52%	39%	9%
Italian (N=20) 100%	20	45	35
Greek (N=23) 100%	61	23	13
Korean (N=18) 100%	50	28	22
Asian Indian (N=18) 100%	22	72	6
Israeli (N=14) 100%	64	22	14
TOTAL (N=116) 100%	45	39	16

The pressures on family life implied by dual wage earner households are are patent and are surely compounded for this group by the high percentages of families--both nuclear and extended--with school age or young children. Moreover, a group with these income levels would probably refrain from availing itself of public support services. In fact the sample uses few public services of any kind. (See Figure 8.) Even their use of public schools was not extensive; less than 50 percent of the total sample send their children to public schools.

Figure 8

	Use of Public Service	
	Low Use (0-4)	High Use (5-9)
Colombian (N=23) 100%	100%	0%
Italian (N=20) 100%	95	5
Greek (N=23) 100%	91	9
Korean (N=18) 100%	100	0
Asian Indian (N=18) 100%	100	0
Israeli (N=14) 100%	100	0
TOTAL (N=116) 100%	97	3

The occupational characteristics of the sample clearly place them in a middle class category; their perceptions, attitudes and behavior also suggest middle class status. Eighty percent of those surveyed saw themselves as members of the middle class; only the Italian subsample deviated from this pattern with a majority of respondents classifying themselves as members of the working class. This perception is probably an accurate reflection of their socioeconomic position. Contrary to the pattern often ascribed to a new immigrant population of spending time in central areas of the city and then

moving outward as status position rises, the majority of respondents were direct migrants to Queens. Apparently middle class migrants seek out middle class areas of the city. Moreover, they were also found to be fairly restrained in their movement around the borough and stable within their neighborhoods. (See Figure 9.) Nearly forty percent of the total sample were homeowners; among Asian Indians the percentage was considerably higher, 67 percent. Some deviations from these generalizations were found to characterize both Koreans and Israelis. There are several possible explanations for this. Although most respondents entered Queens between 1965 and 1976, both the Korean and Israeli subsample showed a higher percentage of their members entering the Borough after 1976. Israelis were also anomalous in that many respondents had moved within the Borough and they were the only group in which a majority of respondents were not direct migrants to the Borough. This suggests a more transitory quality of life among Israelis which might also be attributable to a larger percentage of single individuals as opposed to families. The generally lower scores received by Israelis and Koreans on measures of residential stability was mirrored in their attitudes toward their neighborhoods. While more than 70 percent of total sample viewed their neighborhood in a positive light, the Koreans and Israelis held more negative attitudes.

Figure 9

	Residential Stability		
	Low	High	N/R
Colombian (N=23) 100%	17%	83%	0%
Italian (N=20) 100%	25	75	0
Greek (N=23) 100%	22	78	0
Korean (N=18) 100%	56	28	16
Asian Indian (N=18) 100%	22	72	6
Israeli (N=14) 100%	64	36	0
TOTAL (N=116) 100%	32	65	3

Not only were most respondents found to be relatively pleased with their communities they also showed a fair amount of involvement in organized community life. Most of the sample fell in the medium range of the scale for community participation with two notable exceptions--the Greeks and Asian Indians--both of whom had a majority of the sample located on the higher end of the scale. (See Figure 10.) The Greek commitment to community life is manifest in the sheer number of ethnic organizations. (See Figure 11.) Although many of these organizations date from the period of the first wave of Greek migrants to the Borough, a good number were dormant during the 1940's and 1950's and

have only been reactivated in the 1960's. My discussions with members of the Greek community revealed a strong concern with and commitment to a viable community, particlarly in Astoria.

Figure 10

	Involvement in Community Life		
	0-2	3-5	6-10
Colombian (N=23) 100%	17%	52%	31%
Italian (N=20) 100%	10	65	25
Greek (N=23) 100%	4	39	57
Korean (N=18) 100%	6	72	22
Asian Indian (N=18) 100%	0	33	67
Israeli (N=14) 100%	36	36	28
TOTAL (N=116) 100%	11	50	39

The Asian Indian community is also characterized by a large and a growing number of ethnic organizations most of which date from the late 1960's and early 1970's. While community organizations are not absent from the Italian community they often were established by the first wave of Italian immigrants and have operated continuously. Colombian groups appear to be somewhat more transitory than either those of the Greeks or Asian Indians or there are organizations that are geared to the Borough's Hispanic population rather than specifically to the Colombian community. Most formal Korean groups are religious in function but transitory and informal groups apparently do occur. These are frequently organized on the basis of occupation or the school attended

Figure 11

Location of Ethnic Organization According to Community Planning District Group

Names of Districts	Colombian (N=52) 101%	Italian (N=53) 101%	Greek (N=88) 100%	Korean (N=50) 100%	Asian Indian (N=31) 100%	Israeli (N=3) 100%	TOTAL (N=219) - 100%	
Astoria - L.I.C.	34%	4[illegible]%	68%	22%	13%	0	74	34%
Maspeth - Sunnyside	0	2%	0	10%	0	0	6	3
Corona	10%	2%	7%	14%	0	0	18	8
Elmhurst	17%	7%	1%	8%	10%	0	20	9
Ridgewood	0	11%	0	0	7%	0	8	4
Forest Hills	4%	0	1%	4%	16%	67%	11	5
Flushing	11%	23%	16%	36%	35%	33%	53	24
Jamaica Hills	6%	4%	0	2%	3%	0	7	3
Woodhaven	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Ozone Park	4%	8%	0	0	7%	0	8	4
Bayside	0	0	0	2%	3%	0	2	1
Jamaica	8%	2%	5%	0	3%	0	7	3
Bellerose	2%	0	0	2%	3%	0	3	1
Far Rockaway	4%	0	2%	0	0	0	2	1

in Korea. Israelis are notable in their lack of both formal and informal organizations and also for their resistance to associating themselves with established Jewish organizations.

Ethnic organizations clearly abound in the Borough, their numbers continue to grow. While immigrants see themselves as members of the middle class this does not preclude their active participation in an ethnic community. Curiously, when respondents were scored on the strength of their overall ethnic identity most fell on the medium to low range of the scale. (See Figure 12.) The only exception was the Greek subsample which showed a majority on the high - very high end of the scale. This measure, however, may not provide an accurate pictur. of the importance of ethnicity in organizing the basic quality of life. A portion of the questionnaire was designed to collect information on the networks of support and exchange available to immigrants. Unfortunately, this section was difficult to administer and the student interviewers often made errors. Distortions in the data, I believe, were in the direction of underpresenting the number of people involved in critical exchanges rather than in assessing the character of those included in the support groups. Overwhelmingly all respondents relied upon and were supported in their daily life by fellow members of the ethnic community regardless of whether their networks consisted primarily of relatives, friends, neighbors or others known through work or other activities. The only exception to this pattern was among Colombians whose support groups were more or less divided between those who relied on fellow ethnics and a mixture of Colombians and others. However, if a broader definition of Colombian ethnicity is used, that is, one that includes all Hispanic groups, then the Colombian pattern conforms to that of the other groups.

Figure 12

Overall Ethnic Identity

	Low 0-4	Medium 5-10	High 11-15	Very High 16-20
Colombian (N=23) 100%	4%	70%	22%	4%
Italian (N=20) 100%	5	65	30	0
Greek (N=23) 100%	0	35	52	13
Korean (N=18) 100%	0	67	33	0
Asian Indian (N=18) 100%	6	83	11	0
Israeli (N=14) 100%	14	72	14	0
TOTAL (N=116) 100%	3	66	28	3

The heavy reliance on fellow members of the ethnic community to meet the requirements of daily life may be one of the reasons that none of the groups surveyed scored high on the variable designed to measure experiences with discrimination (see Figure 13). Moveover, this pattern clearly contradicts the views expressed by many respondents in the open-ended interviews. Various forms of personal and group discrimination as well as incidents between ethnic groups and fears of conflict were common themes. This disjunction between the feelings of those included in the survey and the views of individuals actively involved in the life of the ethnic community represents a paradox that needs to be explained. It is possible that ethnic prejudice is not as prevalent and the concern of community leaders is an exaggeration of existing conditions. Another explanation, equally viable, is that fears of prejudicial behavior are

so high as to foster a form of self-segregation. In other words, in order to avoid confrontations or the risks thereof, members of the various ethnic groups socially and geographically isolate themselves from other groups. The geographic distribution of respondent residences indicates a clustering by major ethnic groups in certain areas of the Borough. (See Figure 14.) Moreover, major portions of their support groups--groups clearly composed of fellow ethnics--were found to be within the immediate neighborhood. The location of ethnic organizations by Community Planning District also suggests that some form of ethnic residential segregation may be occurring in the Borough (see Figure 11).

Figure 13

Feelings of Discrimination

	Weak (0-3)	Strong (4-7)
Colombian (N=23) 100%	96%	4%
Italian (N=20) 100%	100%	0%
Greek (N=23) 100%	96%	4%
Korean (N=18) 100%	94%	6%
Asian Indian (N=18) 100%	100%	0%
Israeli (N=14) 100%	93%	7%
TOTAL (N=116) 100%	97%	3%

Figure 14

Residence of Respondents by Community Planning District Group

Names of Districts	Colombian (N=23) 100%	Italian (N=20) 100%	Greek (N=23) 100%	Korean (N=18) 100%	Asian Indian (N=18) 100%	Israeli (N=14) 100%	TOTAL (N=116) 118%
Astoria - L.I.C.	9%	0	70%	0	0	0	16%
Maspeth - Sunnyside	4%	5%	0	0	0	0	2
Corona	26%	15%	0	11%	0	0	9
Elmhurst	9%	5%	0	6%	11%	0	5
Ridgewood	0	25%	0	0	0	0	4
Forest Hills	13%	0	0	0	22%	43%	11
Flushing	26%	20%	26%	44%	28%	36%	30
Jamaica Hills	0	0	0	0	6%	14%	3
Woodhaven	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Ozone Park	0	20%	0	0	0	0	3
Bayside	0	0	0	0	0	7%	1
Jamaica	9%	0	4%	0	11%	0	4
Bellerose	4%	5%	0	0	17%	0	4
Far Rockaway	0	5%	0	39%	5%	0	8

Conclusions: Directions for Future Research

The research of the past year has been directed toward the design and implementation of a pilot study which attempted to isolate and define research and social problems. While the limitations of such a study are obvious, the analysis of the data has indicated trends in the immigrant flow to the Borough and the quality of life in the six ethnic communities. We believe that we are now in a good position to develop a program of research that will deal with these new specific problems. We recommend that future research select for special attention the problems most important to the College primarily because the College must formulate policies to deal with these communities which are its natural constituency.

The trend data suggest that the following be considered as an area for future research: the relationship between ethnic identity and discrimination, conflict and self-isolation. All four trends are already significant issues and characteristic of the Borough but as yet we cannot isolate which is the most severe and what is the exact interrelationship between these phenomena. The survey data suggests that the ethnic groups are self-segregating, by residence as well as by association; what appears to be a largely middle class population is also a self-segregating ethnic community. In other words, these groups stick to their own kind.... What we don't know is why this is the case. We do not know if conflict experienced in the past or whether the existence of an ethnically defined support system is the determining variable in association. We do know that on a purely political level there is tension between communities but we don't know how much of the tension within the political order could translate into direct social conflict.

Respectfully submitted,

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